1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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Corresponding to these stimuli there is the sociability and camaraderie among the women who cook communally.

There is very little, almost no direction of work. The techniques are well known, and it is not necessary for anyone to give directions to scrape taro or thatch a roof. The work follows the traditional rules learned in childhood. A certain direction or organization occurs in fishing, when the man who sights the fish gives the call, but this could hardly be called bossing. This lack of leadership in communal undertakings is quite striking to the observer. One or two men act as masters of ceremonies and make the necessary speeches at these rites, as, for example, Sola and Buibui at the initiation rites at Ponatlege, but there was no one man or woman bossing the communal cooking preparations for these rites. They have been initiated by those most interested, and the work then follows along traditional lines. There is a similar lack of policing at the inter-village rites where hundreds of people are gathered together. By some kind of mutual consent the crowd does not press unduly upon the clearing used as a stage, and are considerate of each other in their desire to see the rites. This holds for rites lasting several days and nights, when both onlookers and participants have had little sleep and are weary. I witnessed many such rites, and never did I see any pushing or quarrelling for advantageous places, such as marks similar crowds in our society.

The newly introduced Government work on the roads is in direct contrast with the native manner of working at their own occupations. All natives, male and female, are required to give three days a week to work on the road, mending the holes in it and keeping it in good condition. On these days the "Luluai," Government-appointed chief, blows his conch shell early in the morning to assemble the people. They come to the road in front of his house, the women standing or squatting (squatting on toes the usual position) in one group apart from the men.

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position) in one group apart from the men. The "Luluai" then gives them the directions for the work, telling them what part of the road is to be repaired, and what is to be done, and he divides them into working groups. They then separate to work as directed.

For this road work there is no tradition. The assembling to receive directions is as much an innovation as the work itself. Not only is there no tradition, but there are none of the usual stimuli. It is "forced labour." There is no pay for it, and it is done through fear of the powerful white Government which has subdued them. There is no singing, no sociability, but instead a lack of the usual zest, a sullenness which is completely lacking from native work, and a resentful weariness at the end of the day. It is difficult for a native to understand why he should give half the time which he formerly gave to his gardens and rites to making a road, by which the white men set such a big value.

DISTRIBUTION

We have seen how people of Lesu work and what they produce. What becomes of the products of their labour? What is the system of distribution, as opposed to the production just described?

That part of the produce of labour is used for immediate consumption by the worker is obvious. The taro from the garden forms the staple of the daily meals of the man and wife who have planted the garden. The man who initiates the building of a house, working on it himself and paying others for their assistance, lives in the house when it is completed. But production for immediate consumption does not tell the whole story.

There are several different forms of exchange which are part of the system of distribution. (1) Reciprocal exchange between individuals and between groups, when exact equals

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

progress of the new cultures. Among the children now being educated, however, the changes wrought by the civilizing processes are steadily bearing fruit. 177

NATIVE LABOUR.

During the early years of German control, and while efforts were being made to amalgamate the native stocks, able-bodied men and women were recruited in relatively large numbers for work in different parts of the Territory and in German colonies beyond the Territory. 167 464

In 1909-10, however, the number of natives recruited for work outside the district decreased considerably, owing, no doubt, to the plantations then being developed in New Ireland, which were able to offer local employment to the natives of the district. In that year the recruiting of unmarried women from New Ireland was prohibited, a step by which the German Government hoped "that the extraordinary scarcity of women under which New Ireland has directly suffered for years in consequence of the unmarried women being taken away, will gradually be rectified, and so counteract the falling-off of the population."

Hoffman* points out that the able-bodied male natives recruited from the East coast in 1911 numbered 810, and in 1912 this number increased to 1,147. There was no record of the married and unmarried women recruited during that time. Hoffman goes on to say: "It is difficult to draw any conclusion from the present lists and records as to whether and how far the shortage of women brought about by recruiting at present exists. As has been mentioned before, records of the numbers of recruited women are lacking. . . . It is a fact, however, that the natural shortage of women is made more or less acute by recruiting. There is no proof to show that it is brought about by recruiting."

During my enumeration of the population the names of 925 men and 101 women were recorded "absent under indenture." This figure represents 12 per cent. of the total population, 25 per cent. of the adult male population and actually 27 per cent. of able-bodied males. Approximately 550 males and 60 females are employed by Europeans and Asiatics between Kavieng and Karu. The remainder are distributed in other parts of New Ireland and the Territory, a fair number of men and women being engaged in domestic service within the township of Rabaul, in which work they show special aptitude. Thirty-four per cent. of the labourers are married. 162 167 464

Native labourers employed on plantations near their villages are in the satisfactory position of being able to spend at least every week-end and often every night with their families. This is an ideal condition from the point of view both of the planter and of the labourer. It 466

*Government Gazette, German New Guinea, June, 1913.

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

466 frequently happens that the plantation owner or manager is thus brought intimately in touch with all the people of the villages to which his employees belong, and one hears of many acts of kindness and consideration on the part of the employers towards the fellow-villagers of their labourers, such as the free treatment of sick, &c. I heard of one planter on the east coast road who not only places his plantation hospital at the disposal of the people of surrounding villages, but both he and his wife actually go among them and encourage them to come in whenever they are in need of careful treatment, to this end often incurring considerable expense in drugs and food.

000 I think that the employment of local natives should be encouraged in every way possible. As I have pointed out already, it is far more economical for the planter to secure his labourers from adjacent villages than to recruit them from other parts of New Guinea. It also lessens the drain on the population if able-bodied men available for plantation work serve on some place near enough to their villages to enable them to continue the thread of village life. For these reasons I have made a recommendation to the Administration that the recruiting of natives of the Kavieng-Karu district for work outside New Ireland, excepting for skilled and domestic work, be prohibited.

The few that engage in skilled labour and domestic work in other parts of the Territory make no appreciable difference to village life, and, since work of that kind provides an avenue of usefulness to natives adapted for it, I think it should be kept open for them. What is desired is to prevent the district being drained of its best blood. This can be effected by prohibiting general recruiting for work in other districts.

464 In examining the tables, we find that the percentage of natives under indenture is larger in some villages than in others. Where these natives are engaged on local plantations the numbers are, for reasons given, not so alarming as they appear to be. In fact, it suggests a trend in the right direction, for in proportion to the number of local natives employed is indicated the influence of the employer and the manner in which he is fulfilling his part in the work of progress.

FOOD.

262 The usual native foods are planted in the gardens, and people of the coastal villages appear able to secure fish, lobsters, and various shell fish. Pigs are bred in the villages, and wild pigs are hunted in the bush. In the mountain villages vegetable food is more plentiful than on the coast, where the ground is not so fertile, and gardens, especially 438 those of certain villages, are some distance away. There is, however, constant trade in foods between the bush and coastal communities